

*John Evelyn  
in Naples*

1645

*H. Maynard Smith*



JOHN EVELYN IN NAPLES

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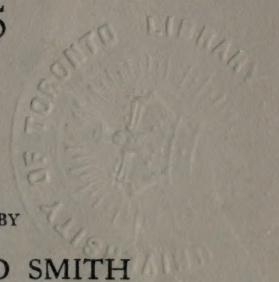
Evelyn, John

# JOHN EVELYN IN NAPLES

1645

EDITED BY

H. MAYNARD SMITH



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## PREFACE

FOR some years I have been accumulating materials for an edition of Evelyn's *Diary*, not with the idea of making that work more readable, but with the intention of providing a work of reference for all those who are interested in the seventeenth century—its life, religion, learning, and art; its social customs and ways of looking at things. Evelyn was not a genius; he was emphatically a man of his own age. He was alive to all that was going on; in touch with statesmen, artists, scientists, and theologians; a diligent observer of all that was to be seen; and his judgment as a rule represents the best opinion of his time.

At the age of twenty-four he visited Naples, and has left us in a few pages an admirable account of what tourists went to see in 1645. I have illustrated his descriptions by quotations from other seventeenth-century travellers. I have tried to identify all that he saw, to note the changes that have taken place, and to provide materials by which

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the tourist of to-day may compare his own outlook with that of a young gentleman two hundred and seventy years ago.

We weary at times of the most accurate guide-books, and this pamphlet is published in the hope that it may interest some who have time to spare after visiting the Museum, the Aquarium, Pompeii, and the Blue Grotto. They may spend some happy afternoons in following John Evelyn about the city, or by sailing in his wake from Pozzuoli to Misenum. After dinner at Bertolini's, or Parker's Hotel, they may have fresh information to give fellow tourists, information unknown to the student of Baedeker, and not to be obtained from a local cicerone. At any rate, as will be seen from the notes, the editor has found it interesting to compare the information of Baedeker with that of Evelyn and his contemporaries.

H. MAYNARD SMITH.

*August, 1913.*



## SOME ENGLISH TRAVELLERS AND THEIR BOOKS

FYNES MORYSON (1566-1630) was a Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, and a great traveller. He visited Naples in 1595 and published his *Itinerary* in 1617 in a folio volume, from which my quotations are made. He wrote the first part originally in Latin, and the manuscript, never published, is now in the British Museum.

GEORGE SANDYS (1578-1644), the poet, was the youngest son of the Archbishop of York. He was travelling from 1610 to 1615, and visited Naples on his return from Egypt and Palestine. I am enabled to quote from the first edition of his travels, published in 1615, thanks to the kindness of the Bishop of Worcester, who allows me access to the Hurd Library.

WILLIAM LITHGOW (1582-1645) was born at Lanark, and for nineteen years was a traveller. He visited Naples in 1610, 1613, and 1616. His *Rare Adventures* were published in London in 1632. His extravagant style, self-conceit, and obvious exaggerations detract from the value of his book. My quotations are made from the reprint of Messrs. Maclehose of Glasgow.

JAMES HOWELL (1594-1666) was a traveller, man of letters, and finally historiographer to Charles II. He was in Naples in 1621. My quotations are derived from the

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seventh edition (1705) of his *Familiar Letters*, and also from Arber's reprint of his *Instructions for Forreine Travel*.

ANONYMOUS.—In volume <sup>XII</sup>v. of the *Harleian Miscellany* is *A True Description and Direction of what is most worthy to be seen in all Italy*. From internal evidence it is clear that it was written some years before Evelyn visited Italy.

JOHN BARGRAVE (1610–1680) was ejected from his Fellowship at Peterhouse in 1643, and spent several years in Italy, where Evelyn met him (*Diary*, May 13, 1672). He published a curious and rather scandalous work, *Pope Alexander VII. and the College of Cardinals*, which has been reprinted in the Camden Society, together with a catalogue of his museum.

JOHN RAYMOND was the nephew of Bargrave, who visited Naples in May, 1646. His book, *Il Mercurio Italico* (1648), is for our purposes especially important, as it was undoubtedly in Evelyn's hands when he wrote up the account of his travels.

RICHARD LASSELS (1603–1658)<sup>\*</sup> was a Roman priest and tutor who took several young gentlemen on the Grand Tour. He made five journeys through Italy; but his *Voyage of Italy* was not published until two years after his death<sup>#</sup> by his old friend, Simon Wilson. The first edition was printed in Paris, but my quotations are from an English edition of 1686. A dozen years<sup>(1698)</sup> later a new edition was printed, with augmentations and suppressions by a very inferior hand.

EDWARD BROWNE (1644–1708) was the elder son of Sir Thomas Browne, and, like his father, a doctor of medicine. He travelled a great deal, and wrote more than one book, but my quotations are from his letters, published in Bohn's edition of Sir Thomas Browne's works. Edward Browne was in Naples in 1666.

## Some English Travellers and their Books

GILBERT BURNET (1643-1715) visited Naples in 1685 or 1686.

Political reasons made his absence from England desirable. He described his journeys in a series of letters addressed to Robert Boyle. My quotations are taken from an edition published in 1750.

JAMES DRUMMOND, the second Jacobite Duke of Perth (1675-1720), was in Naples in 1693. His letters have been printed in the Camden Society. *Camden Socy. Scot.*

Letters  
from the  
Duke of  
Perth  
1716.

FRANCIS MAXIMILIAN MISSON (1650?-1722) was a refugee Huguenot who went as tutor with Charles Butler, afterwards Earl of Arran, on the Grand Tour (1687-1688). As a result he published at the Hague, in 1691, *Le Nouveau Voyage d'Italie*, in two volumes. This was subsequently enlarged, and the edition in my possession (1702) is in three volumes. The work was translated into English and further enlarged, with controversial additions by the author, and my references are to the English edition of 1714.

JOSEPH ADDISON (1672-1719) visited Naples in 1701. I quote from the second edition of his *Remarks upon Italy*, printed in 1718.

BISHOP BERKELEY was in Naples in 1717. I quote from the quarto edition of his works, published in 1784. I regret not having seen until too late Professor Fraser's edition of his works.



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# JOHN EVELYN IN NAPLES,

16 $\frac{44}{45}$

## I

### ARRIVAL IN NAPLES—S. ELMO

*Jan. 31st.*—About noone we enter'd the citty of Naples, alighting at the 3 Kings, where we found the most plentiful fare all the tyme we were in Naples. Provisions are wonderfully cheape; we seldom sat downe to fewer than 18 or 20 dishes of exquisite meat and fruites. The morrow after o<sup>r</sup> arrival, in the afternoone, we hired a coach to carry us about the towne. First we went to the castle of St. Elmo, built on a very high rock, whence we had an entire prospect of the whole citty, which lyes in shape of a theatre upon the sea brinke, with all the circumjacent islands, as far as Capreæ, famous for the debauched excesses of Tiberius. This fort is the bridle of the whole citty, and was well stor'd and garrison'd with native Spanyards. The strangeness of the precipice and rareness of the prospect of so many magnificent and stately palaces, churches, and

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monasteries, w<sup>th</sup> the Arsenell, the Mole, and Mount Vesuvius in the distance, all in full com'and of y<sup>e</sup> eye, make it one of the richest landskips in the world.

<sup>1</sup> *The inns* had apparently improved, for Fynes Moryson (i. 112) writes : "Near the market place are many inns, but poor and bare : for howsoever the city aboundeth with houses where they give lodging and meat, yet it deserves no praise for fair inns where they give good entertainment." The author in the *Harl. Misc.* (v. 33) advises tourists : "When you come into this famous city, enquire for the Black Eagle ; the host is a Dutchman (German), who will appoint one to go about and show you what is to be seen."

<sup>2</sup> *Provisions in Naples*.—Lassels (ii. 177) writes : "Were but the taxes taken off or reasonably moderated, Naples would be the cheapest and richest place in the world." In May, 1646, a tax was placed on fruit, which led to the rising under Mas'aniello. Towards the end of the century, Burnet (p. 193) writes : "The town is well supplied by daily markets, so that the provisions are ever fresh and in great plenty. The wine is the best in Europe, and both flesh and fish are extreme good."

<sup>3</sup> *S. Elmo*.—It probably derives its name from S. Eremo, the holy retreat of the Carthusians. It was erected by Robert the Wise in 1343, but rebuilt by Pedro de Toledo. Lassels (ii. 177) remarks : "It stands well upon its own guard, by reason of its high situation. But I doubt if it can offend any enemy, except Naples itself, which is under it." "By reason of this fort," says the Harleian writer, "the Neapolitans are bridled that they dare not rise in rebellion. . . . There is not one palace in the city, but hath a piece of ordnance aimed thereat from the fort ; and if any in the same do but begin to mutiny, it is, in the twinkling of an eye, battered down."

<sup>4</sup> *Capri and Tiberius*.—In A.D. 26 Tiberius was persuaded by Sejanus to retire to Capri, and he lived there until within a few weeks of his death in A.D. 37. He covered the island with palaces and gardens. Horrible tales of his debauchery are told by Suetonius, who cannot, however, be implicitly trusted.



## II

### THE CASTEL NUOVO AND PORT

HENCE we descended to another strong castle, cal'd Il Castello Nuovo, which protects the shore, but they would by no intreaty permit us to go in; the outward defence seemes to consist but in four towers, very high, and an exceeding deepe graft with thick walls. Opposite to this is the Toure of St. Vincent, w<sup>ch</sup> is also very strong.

Then we went to the very noble palace of the Viceroy, partly old and part of a newer work, but we did not stay long here. Towards y<sup>e</sup> evening we tooke the ayre upon the Mole, a streete on the rampart or banke, rays'd in y<sup>e</sup> sea for security of their galleys in port, built as that of Genoa. Here I observed a riche fountaine in the middle of the piazza, and adorned with divers rare statues of copper representing the Sirens or Deities of Parthenope, spouting large streames of water into an ample shell, all of cast metall, and of great cost; this stands at the entrance of y<sup>e</sup> Mole, where wee mett many of the nobility both on horseback and in their coaches to take the fresco from the sea, as the manner is, it being the most advantageous quarter for good ayre,

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delight and prospect. Here we saw divers goodly horses who handsomly become their riders, the Neapolitan gentlemen. This Mole is about 500 paces in length, and paved with a square hewn stone.

<sup>5</sup> *Castel Nuovo* was built for Charles I. of Anjou (1279-1283) by Pierre D'Angicourt. It was enlarged by Alphonso I. of Aragon, who held his Court there. Pedro de Toledo strengthened its fortifications and transferred to it the Courts of Justice. Originally outside the city, it has come to have a central position. When Fynes Moryson visited Naples it was open to inspection. He tells us (i. 111) that the castle was "among the chief forts of Europe. The inward gate is most fair, all of marble, and it hath a little foursquare hall, in which the Parliaments are yearly held, and the Viceroy's weekly sit in judgment. Near this hall is a tower in which the kingly ornaments are laid up, etc."

<sup>6</sup> *Tower of S. Vincent*.—Fynes Moryson (i. 111) mentions this tower, now no more, "where they set light by night to guide seamen into the harbour." The writer in the *Harl. Misc.* describes it as "standing in the sea as in an island," and tells how the Spaniards failed to capture it, and the French garrison finally evacuated the place with all the honours of war. The great mole of Porto Grande, not built until the last century, is dedicated to San Vincenzo.

<sup>7</sup> *The Palace of the Viceroy*, now the Palazzo Reale, was designed by Domenico Fontana in 1600, when the Count of Lemos was Viceroy. The writer in the *Harl. Misc.* notes the number of the Spanish guards without and of the German guards within. He tells (v. 33) how "the Viceroy doth give audience every Thursday." Two years after Evelyn's visit, the Duke of Arcos pleaded from one of the balconies with the insurgents under Mas'aniello. He pleaded in vain. The mob sacked the palace. In 1837 it was much damaged by fire, but has been restored.

<sup>8</sup> *The Mole*, "like an artificial street casting itself into the sea" (Raymond, p. 139). It was constructed by Charles II. of Anjou in 1302, and enlarged by Alphonso I. of Aragon.

## The Castel Nuovo and Port

Down to the nineteenth century it was a favourite promenade where the Cantastori sang, recited, and gesticulated.

<sup>9</sup> *The Fountain* has been removed to the Villa Nazionale. The statues are by Geronimo D'Auria.

<sup>10</sup> *The Sirens* were sea-nymphs with the wings of birds and faces of women. By their songs they lured sailors to destruction. In Homer they were found near Scylla and Charybdis. The Latin poets assigned them to the Campanian coast. In the story of the Argonauts, Orpheus outsang them, and they were turned into stone. They were then by poets identified with the rocky islands between Sorrento and Capri.

### III

#### CHURCHES OF NAPLES

FROM the Mole we ascend to a Church of great antiquity, formerly sacred to Castor and Pollux, as the Greeke letters carv'd on the architrave and the busts of their two statues testify. It is now converted into a stately oratory by the Theatines.

The cathedrall is a most magnificent pile, and except St. Peter's in Rome, Naples exceeds all cittys for stately churches and monasteries. We were told that this day the blood of St. Genuarius and his head should be expos'd, and so we found it, but obtained not to see the miracle of the boiling of this blood. The next we went to see was St. Peter's, richly adorn'd, the chapel especialy, where that Apostle sayde Masse, as is testified on the walle.

After dinner we went to St. Dominic, where they shew'd us the crucifix that is reported to have sayd these words to St. Thomas, "Benè de me scripsisti Thoma." Hence to the Padri Olivetani, famous for the monument of the learned Alexand. ab Alexandro.

We proceeded the next day to visite the church of St<sup>a</sup> Maria Maggiore, where we spent much time in surveying the chapell of Joh. Jov. Pontanus, and

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in it the several and excellent sentences and epitaphs on himselfe, wife, children, and friends, full of rare witt and worthy of recording as we find them in severall writers. In the same chapell is shew'd an arme of Titus Livius w<sup>th</sup> this epigraph: "Titi Livij brachium quod Anton. Panormita a Patavinis impe-travit, Jo. Jovianus Pontanus multos post annos hoc in loco ponendum curavit." Climbing a steepe hill we came to the monastery and church of the Carthusians from whence is a most goodly prospect towards the sea and citty, the one full of gallys and ships, the other of stately palaces, churches, monas-teries, castles, gardens, delicious fields and meadows, Mount Vesuvius smoaking, the Promontory of Minerva and Misenum, Capreæ, Prochyta, Ischia, Pausilipe, Puteoli, and the rest, doubtlesse one of the most divertisant and considerable vistas in y<sup>e</sup> world. The church is most elegantly built: the very pavements of the common cloyster being all layd w<sup>th</sup> variously polish'd marbles richly figur'd. They shew'd us a massie crosse of silver much cele-brated for the workmanship and carving, and sayd to have been 14 yeares in perfecting. The quire also is of rare arte; but above all to be admir'd is the yet unfinish'd church of the Jesuites, certainly if accom-plish'd not to be equal'd in Europe.

<sup>11</sup> *The Theatines* = S. Paolo Maggiore. The church was built in 1539 by the Theatine Grimaldi on the site of a temple dedicated to Castor and Pollux by Tiberius Julius Tarsus, a freedman of Augustus. The ancient portico mentioned by Evelyn was destroyed by the earthquake in 1688 (Misson, i. 631). The inscription on the frieze is quoted by Raymond,

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p. 141. Two Corinthian columns and part of the architrave may still be seen. The Theatines were founded in the time of Paul IV. by Giovanni Pietro Caraffa, Bishop of Teati, and take their name from his see.

<sup>12</sup> *The Duomo*.—"The Domo is ancient, and therefore out of the mode a little," says Lassels (ii. 172). It is "but a mean building, but hath a noble chapel and a vast treasure," says Burnet (p. 187). It was begun by Charles of Anjou in 1272 on the site of a Temple of Neptune, and was completed by Robert the Wise in 1323. It was rebuilt by Alphonso I. in 1456 after an earthquake. Its "noble chapel" had just been finished when Evelyn visited it, and it is remarkable that he says nothing on the subject.

<sup>13</sup> *S. Januarius* was the thirteenth Bishop of Beneventum, who came to Naples during the Diocletian persecution to encourage the Christians. Seized by Timotheus, the Prefect of Campania, he was, according to his legend, first exposed in the amphitheatre of Puteoli, but the wild beasts crouched before him. He was then thrown into a furnace, but came out unharmed. Finally, he was beheaded at Solfatara, September 19, 305.

<sup>14</sup> *The Liquefaction of S. Januarius's Blood*.—According to the legend, S. Severo in the time of Constantine brought the body of the martyr to Naples with two vials of his blood, collected by a pious matron. The blood, we are told, liquefied in the Bishop's hand when brought near to the martyr's head, and has continued to liquefy in response to the prayers and imprecations of Neapolitans ever since. It is, however, very doubtful when the miracle was first known. Some authorities say in the tenth century and some as late as the fourteenth. "A French nobleman," says Lassels (ii. 172), "was converted from Calvinism to the Catholic religion by the sight of this wonder." The Jacobite Earl of Perth in 1696 had a special exhibition in the hope of converting his sister by being able to report a miracle. His prayers were answered, and he has left a minute account of the occurrence (*Letters to his Sister*: C. S., pp. 99 *et seq.*). Four years later Joseph Addison wrote that "it was one of the most bungling tricks that I ever saw" (p. 149).

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<sup>15</sup> *S. Pietro a Maiella* was a Gothic building erected by the favourite of Charles II., Giovanni Pepino di Barletta, who died in 1316. This building has recently been demolished.

<sup>16</sup> *S. Peter*.—Cp. Lassels, ii. 173. According to tradition, S. Peter landed at Sorrento and preached in Naples on his way to Rome. Legend also asserts that he consecrated as first Bishop of Naples S. Asprenus, the brother of S. Candida. S. Candida, however, is now assigned to the sixth century.

<sup>17</sup> *S. Domenico Maggiore*.—A Gothic church erected by Charles II. in 1289. It is strange that Evelyn does not mention the sacristy, with the coffins of the House of Aragon.

<sup>18</sup> *S. Thomas Aquinas*.—In the adjoining convent S. Thomas had taught from 1272 until shortly before his death in 1274. His lectures were attended by Charles I. of Anjou and all his Court, and Aquinas was paid one ounce of gold per month. The crucifix is now in the Capella del Crocefisso, where there is a relief showing the miracle. Fra Giacomo Caserta relates that he saw the saint lifted three feet from the floor while praying, and heard a voice from the crucifix say: "Bene scripsisti de Me, Thoma: quam ergo mercedem recipies?" to which the saint replied: "Non aliam nisi Te." Fynes Moryson (i. 110), after relating this story, tells another of S. Bernard, who, being praised by an image of Our Lady, answered: "Let women be silent in the church, for it is not permitted them to speak." Fynes Moryson was by nature incapable of appreciating either story.

<sup>19</sup> *Monte Oliveto*, usually called S. Anna dei Lombardi. The church was begun in 1411 by Guerillo Origlia, the favourite of King Ladislaus, and continued in the Early Renaissance style by Andrea Circione. It is a flat-roofed basilica without aisles. Domenico Fontana was buried here in 1627. In the adjoining monastery Tasso was received in 1558, and there wrote much of the *Gerusalemme Liberata*. Out of gratitude he also wrote there his poem on *L'Origine della Congregazione di Monte Oliveto*. Misson only tells us that the monks were famous for the manufacture of soap, which they sold at 24 carlines the pound. The *Harl. Misc.* notes that "all the monks are of noble descent."

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<sup>20</sup> *Alexander ab Alexandro* (1461-1523) was a Franciscan learned in law and one of the best of early antiquaries. Erasmus (*Ep.*, 373, ed. 1533) remarks: "He has known everyone, but no one knows him"; and Bayle confirms this by noting how rarely he is mentioned by contemporaries. However, he was more fortunate as to posthumous fame than most of them. His *Geniales Dies* was first published in 1522. Lassels (ii. 174) writes that "his ingenious book . . . gives light to many books, by the marshalling of a world of ancient customs of the Romans." Tiraqueau, a French lawyer, was his last and very competent editor. The best edition of his work was published as late as 1673.

<sup>21</sup> *S. Maria Maggiore*.—This somewhat uninteresting church, with the interesting chapel adjoining, has been pulled down.

<sup>22</sup> *S. Giovanni Evangelista del Pontano*.—Pontanus, emulating his friend Sanazzaro, built a Renaissance chapel of black lava for himself, his family, and friends. Misson (i. 412) transcribes four of the epitaphs, including the famous one on Pontanus's wife. Moral sentences were also painted on the pillars and between the windows. The half pagan, half Christian poet, *Compadre*, was buried there in 1501.

<sup>23</sup> *Giovanni Gioviano Pontano* was Secretary of State to Ferdinand I., and succeeded Panormita in 1471 as head of the Neapolitan Academy, which he established at S. Domenico in the old lecture hall of Aquinas. He was an historian, an astronomer, and a Latin poet. His political and moral essays were published in 1490. Aldus published his poems in 1514. Some modern critics have preferred his verses to those of Politian. His *Historia Neapolitana* is in Grævius (*Thesaurus*, vol. ix.).

<sup>24</sup> *The Arm of Livy*.—In the early years of the fifteenth century the Paduans asserted that they had discovered the body of Livy in the Church of S. Justina. The body was exhumed, and the remains exhibited over the gate of the Salone (*Blondus, It. Illustr.*, p. 185). The remains are now said to be those of T. Livius Halys, a freedman of the historian's family.

<sup>25</sup> *Panormita*.—Antonio Beccadelli (1394-1471) was of a



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Bolognese family. He was, however, born at Palermo, and hence assumed the name of Panormita, by which he is best known. An enthusiastic humanist, he is said to have sold a farm for 112 golden scudi in order to buy the Codex of Livy, which had belonged to Poggio. After living in several cities, he settled at Naples under the patronage of Alphonso of Aragon, and founded the Neapolitan Academy (Tiraboschi, vi. 1103-1107).

<sup>26</sup> *The Church of the Carthusians.*—S. Martino. It was begun in 1325, but entirely rebuilt just before Evelyn's visit. "The Church is not large, but every part of it deserves admiration" (Misson, i. 408). "The most sumptuous thing in all Europe" (Lassels, ii. 175). "It is under the wing of the Castle of S. Elmo, to put castles in mind that they ought to defend religion" (*ibid.*). The monastery is now a museum. *The view*: The Belvedere is a hexagonal room with balconies. Lassels (ii. 176): "We had as fine a prospect as Europe can afford, not excepting that of Greenwich; thought by Barclay the best prospect in Europe." *The Cloister* "is one hundred paces square: all the pavement is in marble inlaid in *Rinceaux* and other ornaments of the like nature; and the four galleries are supported by sixty pillars of one entire piece, of fine white marble of Carrara" (Misson, i. 408). Lassels (ii. 176) mentions the crucifix and also a "Remonstrance" and candlesticks.

<sup>27</sup> *Divertissant.*—In the N. E. D. Evelyn is the only authority for this word. He uses it again in *Sylva* (1679), p. 27: "These sweet and divertissant Plantations. Bailey (1730) recognizes the word "divertissant."

<sup>28</sup> *Gesu Nuovo.*—The church, in the form of a Greek cross, was designed by the Jesuit, Pietro Provvedo. The cupola painted by Lanfranco was destroyed by the earthquake in 1688 (Misson, i. 631). Lassels (ii. 173) says: "The Jesuits, church is the best they have in Italy." Burnet (p. 188) only mentions that the Jesuits here sold the best wine in Naples.

## IV

### PALACES, A MUSEUM, AND THE VICEROY

HENCE we pass'd by the Palazzo Caraffi, full of ancient and very noble statues: also the Palace of the Ursini. The next day we did little but visite some friends, English merchants resident for their negotiation; onely this morning at the Viceroy's Cavalerizzo I saw the noblest horses that I had ever beheld, one of his sonns riding the menage with that addresse and dexterity as I had never seene anything approach it.

*Feb. 4th.*—We were invited to the collection of exotic rarities in the museum of Ferdinando Imperati, a Neapolitan nobleman, and one of the most observable palaces in the citty, the repository of incomparable rarities. Amongst the naturall herbals most remarkable was the *Byssus marina* and *Pinna marina*; the male and female cameleon; an *Onocratulus*; an extraordinary greate crocodile; some of the *Orcades Anates*, held here for a great rarity; likewise a salamander; the male and female *Manucodiata*, the male having a hollow in the back, in w<sup>ch</sup> 'tis reported the female both layes and hatches her egg; the *mandragoras* of both sexes; *Papyrus*

## Palaces, a Museum, and the Viceroy

made of several reedes, and some of silke; tables of the rinds of trees written w<sup>th</sup> Japoniq characters; another of the branches of palme; many Indian fruites; a chrystal that had a quantity of uncongealed water within its cavity; a petrified fisher's net; divers sorts of tarantulas, being a monstrous spider with lark-like clawes and somewhat bigger.

*Feb. 5th.*—This day we beheld the Vice-King's procession, w<sup>ch</sup> was very splendid for the reliques, banners and musiq that accompanied the B. Sacrament. The ceremony tooke up most of the morning.

*Feb. 6th.*—We went by coach to take the ayre, and see y<sup>e</sup> diversions or rather maddnesse of the Carnival; the courtesans (who swarme in this citty to the number, as we are told, of 30,000, registered and paying a tax to y<sup>e</sup> State) flinging eggs of sweete water into our coach as we passed by the houses and windows. Indeed the towne is so pester'd with these cattell, that there needes no small mortification to preserve from their enchantment, whilst they display all their naturall and artificiall beauty, play, sing, feigne compliment, and by a thousand studied devices seeke to inveigle foolish young men.

<sup>29</sup> *Palazzo Caraffi* = The Palazzo Maddaloni, in the via Roma, formerly Toledo, was built for the Marchese del Vasto, bought by the Caraffa family, and is now the Banco Nazionale. Its owner, when Evelyn visited Naples, was Diomed Caraffa, whom Arcos cast into prison for maintaining banditti. He was set at liberty during the rising under Mas'anielo, in the hope that he would appease the people, but he suffered badly at the hands of the rebels, who proceeded to sack his palace.

<sup>30</sup> *The Palace of the Orsini* = Palazzo Gravina. It was erected in 1513 for Ferdinando Orsino, Duca di Gravina, by Gabrielo

## John Evelyn in Naples

d'Agnolo, and completed in 1549 by Gianfrancesco Mormanno. It is now the General Post Office.

<sup>31</sup> *The English Merchants*.—Twenty years before Howell wrote (*Letters*, i. 55): "Our English Merchants here be at a considerable trade, and their factors live in a better equipage, and in a more splendid manner, than in all Italy besides, than their masters and principals in London: they rustle in silks and satins, and wear good Spanish leather shoes, while their master's shoes on our Exchange in London, shine with blacking."

<sup>32</sup> *The Viceroy*.—Don Rodriguez Ponce de Leon, Duke of Arcos, had just arrived in Naples. He depleted the garrison by sending Spanish and German troops into Lombardy. He then tried to raise a million scudi by a tax on fruit. In the resulting revolt under Mas'aniello he gave no evidence of statesmanship. The situation was saved by the Cardinal Archbishop, and Arcos finally triumphed through duplicity and bad faith.

<sup>33</sup> *Cavalerizzo*.—In an earlier passage Evelyn had spelt the word correctly *cavalerizza*. Florio defines it as "a prince's querie or stable where his horses of service are kepte and ridden" (*Worlde of Wordes*, 1598).

<sup>34</sup> *Horses in Naples*.—The writer in the *Harl. Misc.* (v. 34) says: "There is not in all Italy, a greater pomp in riding, nor fairer horses." So Howell, in his *Instructions for Forreine Travel* (p. 43), says: "And so to Naples, where he may improve his knowledge of horsemanship." Fynes Moryson (i. 112) says: "The horses of this kingdom are much esteemed; and if any man buy a horse to carry out of the kingdom, he pays the tenth part of the price to the King." Later in Evelyn's *Diary* (December 3, 1650) he tells how Sir Lewis Dives "affirmed that his being protected by a Neapolitan Prince, who connived at his bringing some horses into France, contrary to the order of the Viceroy, by assistance of some banditti, was the occasion of a difference between those great men, and consequently of the late civil war in that kingdom, the Viceroy having killed the Prince standing on his defence at his own castle."

## Palaces, a Museum, and the Viceroy

<sup>35</sup> *Ferdinando Imperati*.—I have failed to learn anything about this gentleman.

<sup>36</sup> *Herbals*.—The text here is corrupt, or furnishes an instance of singularly careless writing. "Herbals"—*Byssus marina* and *Pinna marina*—mandragoras of both sexes!

<sup>37</sup> *Byssus Marina* and *Pinna Marina*=mussels. *Byssus* is the tuft of fine silk filaments by which molluscs of the genus *Pinna* attach themselves to the surface of the rocks. It is secreted by the *Byssus* gland in the foot. It seems that before the Aquarium and Poli, the Neapolitan naturalist, men in Naples were interested in molluscs.

<sup>38</sup> *The Onacratulus*=a pelican. Florio (*Worlde of Wordes*, 1598) says: "A certain ravenous bird like a swan, with a gorge beneath his mouth, wherein he swalloweth his meat very greedily, and afterward doth chaw it again, and brayeth very loude like an asse."

<sup>39</sup> *Orcades Anates*.—Ducks from the Orkneys, probably puffins. Of them Sir Thomas Browne (*Works*, iii. 317) writes: "The bill being so remarkably differing from other ducks, and not horizontally, but meridionally formed, to feed in the clefts of the rocks, of insects, shell-fish, and others."

<sup>40</sup> *Salamander*.—A lizard-like creature, supposed to live in or endure in fire. *Vide* Sir Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia*, chap. xiv.

<sup>41</sup> *Manucodiata*=birds of Paradise. "The Moores . . . call them manucodiata—holy birds" (Purchas, *Pilgrimage*, 558; 1614 ed.).

<sup>42</sup> *Mandragora*=mandrake. It has a bifurcated root, and is supposed to resemble a man. It was anciently supposed to have animal life and to cry out when pulled from the ground.

<sup>43</sup> *Tables of the Rinds of Trees*.—Probably pictures on Chinese paper. Such are the curiosities described in *Bargrave's Catalogue*, p. 135, as follows: "52. *Item*, a rare antiquity and curiosity: two Chinese books in quarto, printed in the Chyna language upon I know not what material—I think either silk, or rather on the barks of trees—every leaf being double, and having in every page an ill-favoured design or draught of picture."

## John Evelyn in Naples

<sup>44</sup> *Tarantulas*.—"Some doubt many have of Tarantula, or poisonous spider of Calabria, and that magical cure of the bite thereof by music. But since we observe that many attest it from experience: since the learned Kircherius hath positively averred it, and set down the songs and tunes solemnly used for it; since some others affirm the Tarantula itself will dance upon certain strokes, whereby they set their instruments against its poison; we shall not at all question it" (Sir Thomas Browne, *Works*, ii. 106).

<sup>45</sup> *The Vice-King's Procession*.—The State entry of Arcos, who had just arrived.

<sup>46</sup> *The Ceremony*.—English travellers were much interested in the religion of Naples and the way in which it permeated the life of the people. They were not always sympathetic. In 1717 Bishop Berkeley wrote to Pope: "Our chief entertainment is the devotion of our neighbours: besides the gaiety of their churches (where folks go to see what they call *una bella devotione*—*i.e.*, a sort of religious opera), they make fireworks every week out of devotion; and, what is more strange, ladies invite gentlemen to their houses, and treat them with music and sweetmeats, out of devotion: in a word, if it were not for this devotion of its inhabitants, Naples would have little else to recommend it beside the air and situation" (*Works*, i. xxxvii.).

<sup>47</sup> *The Carnival*.—Evelyn, like other Englishmen, regarded any *fiesta* as a carnival.

<sup>48</sup> *Courtesans*.—Howell writes (*Letters*, i. 55): "This is a delicate, luxurious city, fuller of true bred cavaliers than any place I saw yet. The clime is hot and the constitution of the inhabitants more hot. The Neapolitan is accounted the best courtier of ladies, and the greatest embracer of pleasure of any other people: they say there are no less than 20,000 courtesans registered in the office of Savelli." Similarly Raymond (p. 141) writes: "Naples is extremely populous and consequently vitious; he that desires to live a retired, or indeed chaste life, must not set up there. . . . There were at my being there 30,000 courtesans registered, that paid taxes for their pleasure."

## V

## VESUVIUS

7<sup>th</sup>.—The next day being Saturday we went four miles out of towne on mules to see that famous volcano Mount Vesuvius. Here we passe a faire fountaine cal'd Labulla, w<sup>ch</sup> continually boyles, suppos'd to proceed from Vesuvius, and thence over a river and bridg, where on a large upright stone is engraven a notable inscription relative to the memorable eruption in 1630.

Approaching the hill as we were able with our mules, we alighted, crawling up the rest of the proclivity with great difficulty, now w<sup>th</sup> our feete, now with our hands, not without many untoward slips which did much bruise us on the various colour'd cinders w<sup>th</sup> which the whole mountaine is cover'd, some like pitch, others full of perfect brimstone, others metaliq, interspersed with innumerable pumices (of all w<sup>ch</sup> I made a collection), we at the last gained the sum'it of an excessive altitude; turning our faces towards Naples, it presents one of the goodliest prospects in the world; all the Baiæ, Cuma, Elysian Fields, Capreæ, Ischia, Prochita, Misenus, Puteoli, that goodly citty, with a great portion of the Tyrrhan Sea, offering them-

## John Evelyn in Naples

selves to your view at once, and at so agreeable a distance, as nothing can be more delightfull. The mountaine consists of a double top, the one pointed very sharp, and com'only appearing above any clouds, the other blunt. Here as we approach'd, we met many large gaping clefts and chasms, out of which issued such sulphureous blasts and smoke, that we durst not stand long neere them. Having gain'd the very summit, I layde myself down to looke over and into that most frightfull and terrible vorago, a stupendious pit of neere three miles in circuit and halfe a mile in depth, by a perpendicular hollow cliff (like that from the highest part of Dover Castle), with now and then a craggy prominency jetting out. The area at the bottom is plaine like an even'd floore, which seemes to be made by the winds circling the ashes by its eddy blasts. In the middle and center is a hill shaped like a greate browne loafe, appearing to consist of sulphurous matter, continually vomiting a foggy exhalation, and ejecting huge stones with an impetuous noise and roaring like the report of many musquets discharging. This horrid Barathrum engaged our attention for some houres, both for the strangeness of the spectacle and y<sup>e</sup> mention which the old histories make of it, as one of the most stupendious curiosities in nature, and which made the learned and inquisitive Pliny adventure his life to detect the causes, and to loose it in too desperate an approach. It is likewise famous for the stratagem of the rebell Spartacus, who did so much mischief to the State,



## Vesuvius

lurking amongst, and protected by, these horrid caverns, when it was more accessible and lesse dangerous than it is now; but especialy notorious it is for the last conflagration, when in an<sup>o</sup> 1630, it burst out beyond what it had ever don in the memory of history; throwing out huge stones and fiery pumices in such quantity as not onely environ'd the whole mountaine, but totaly buried and overwhelm'd divers townes and their inhabitants, scattering the ashes more than an hundred miles, and utterly devastating all those vineyards where formerly grew the most incomparable Greco; when bursting through the bowels of the earth it absorb'd the very sea, and with its whirling waters drew in divers gallyes and other vessels to their destruction, as is faithfully recorded. We descended with more ease than we climb'd up, thro' a deepe vallie of pure ashes, w<sup>ch</sup> at the late eruption was a flowing river of mealted and burning brimstone, and so came to our mules at the foote of the mountaine.

<sup>49</sup> *The Labulla*.—Sandys (p. 259) writes: "We first observe the ample fountain of Labulla, then rising first, but supposed to proceed by concealed passages from the root of Vesuvius. It is called Labulla in that the waters do boil, as it were: and Labiolo in that they throw themselves into the mouth of an aqueduct."

<sup>50</sup> *The Pillar*.—The inscription is given at length in Misson, i. 431, and in Raymond, 158. It was set up by Antonio Suarez, who describes himself as Vice-Præfectus Viarum.

<sup>51</sup> *Various Coloured Cinders*.—Of the minerals ejected by the volcano, about fifty varieties are known. The yellow masses, usually taken for sulphur, often consist of lava coloured by chloride of iron.

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<sup>52</sup> *The Double Top*.—Viewed from Naples, Monte Somma, the landward peak, is almost as conical as the Volcano, but viewed from Sorrento it is no peak at all, but the segment of a circle, which, if completed, would embrace the present cone. Before the eruption on August 24, A.D. 79, the circle was complete. Strabo (book v., c. iv., § 8) writes: "Above these places (Pompeii, etc.) rises Vesuvius, well cultivated and inhabited all round, except its top, which is for the most part level and entirely barren, ashy to the view, displaying cavernous hollows in rocks, which look as if they had been eaten by fire, so that we may suppose this spot to have been a volcano formerly, with burning craters, now extinguished for lack of fuel." The magnitude of the subsequent eruption may be understood by the fact that one wall of the mountain was blown away.

<sup>53</sup> *Looking Over*.—It is interesting to compare Evelyn's impressions with those of Bishop Berkeley (*Works*, i. xxxvii.) sent to Dr. Arbuthnot, April 17th, 1717: "I heard within that horrid gulf certain odd sounds, which seemed to proceed from the belly of the mountain; a sort of murmuring, sobbing, sighing, churning, dashing as it were of waves, and between whiles a noise like that of thunder or cannon, which was constantly attended by a clattering like that of tiles falling from the top of houses into the streets. . . ." May 8th: "The smoke ascending upright gave a full prospect of the crater, which, as I could judge, is about a mile in circumference and about a hundred yards deep. A conical mount has been formed, since my last visit, in the middle of the bottom: the mount I could see was made up of stones thrown up and fallen back again into the crater."

<sup>54</sup> *Vorago*, a word used more than once by Evelyn, is the Latin for a gulf or an abyss. It has never become English and does not occur in Florio, Minsheu, Philips, Bailey, or Johnson. In Italian it is a poetical word used when the more usual *voragine* would not scan.

<sup>55</sup> *The Barathrum*.—Gk. *βάραθρον* = a pit or gulf. The word was specially associated with the yawning cleft beyond the Acropolis of Athens into which criminals were thrown. It

## Vesuvius

came into English as early as 1520 as an equivalent for Hell (Furnival, *Ballads*, p. 149).

<sup>56</sup> *Pliny*.—Both Plinys were at Misenum on the occasion of the eruption in 79. The elder was in command of the Fleet. He started not only to investigate the occurrence, but to rescue Rectina, the wife of Bassus, at Stabiæ. His nephew remained at Misenum, and afterwards described the event in two letters written at the request of Tacitus. There is a vivid description of the escape from Pomponianus Bassus's villa, the fugitives having pillows tied on their heads with napkins, to protect them from falling stones. The elder Pliny lay down on the seashore, and two days afterwards was found dead, without any marks of violence, looking more like a man asleep. His nephew supposed him to have been stifled by fumes of sulphur (*Ep.* vi. 16).

<sup>57</sup> *Spartacus*.—In the year 73 B.C. Spartacus, a gladiator, training at Capua, escaped with seventy others and took refuge on Mount Vesuvius. In North's translation of Plutarch (Crassus) we read: "The Romans besieged them in their fort, situate upon a hill that had a very narrow ascent to it, and kept the passage up to them: all the rest of the ground round about it was nothing but high rocks hanging over, and upon these great store of wild vines. Of these the bondmen cut the strongest strips, and made thereof ladders, like to ship ladders of ropes, of such a length and so strong that they reached from the top of the hill even to the very bottom: upon these they all came safely down, save one that tarried above to throw down their armour after them, who afterwards, by the same ladder, saved himself last of all. The Romans mistrusting no such matter, these bondmen compassed the hill round, assailed them behind, and put them in such a fear, with the sudden onset, as they fled everyman, and so was their camp taken." For the next two years the Servile war went on. Both Consuls were defeated by Spartacus. Then Crassus was given command against him, and by the River Silarus won a victory, in which Spartacus was slain.

<sup>58</sup> 1630 should be 1631. Vesuvius was quiescent from 1500 to 1631. Sandys (260) describes the crater as "declining like

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the seats in the theatre, flourishing with trees and excellent pasturage. . . . The midst of the hill is shaded with chesnut-trees, and others bearing sundry fruits." Cattle are said to have grazed within the crater. On December 1 or 2 a man of Ottajano found the woods gone and a level sandy plain at the summit, which he dared to cross. On December 16 a great cloud like a pine-tree overhung the mountain, and the Abate Braccini, Pliny in hand, grasped its significance. An awful earthquake took place; the sea retreated half a mile; seven streams of lava burst from the mountain; Bosco, Torre Annunziata, Torre Greco, Resina and Portici were overwhelmed; 3,000 people perished. Lassels (ii. 180) was told by a survivor: "Thunder was but a pistol-crack to this noise." He comments: "The mouth of a cannon a full mile wide must needs give a great report." Great stones, as Evelyn says, were cast enormous distances. One of 50,000 pounds weight was thrown into Massa di Somma; another, which a team of oxen could scarcely move, fell as far away as Nola. Ashes were carried to Tarentum, and Naples was plunged into darkness. The Viceroy sent heralds through the town, imploring the people to live cleanly. The blood of S. Januarius liquefied, and was carried through the streets, followed by crowds of frenzied flagellants, often stark naked. A year later the Abate Braccini published *Dell' Incendio fattori nel Vesuvio*. Lassels refers to *De Vesuviano Incendio Nuntius*, by Julius Cæsar Recupitus; and Misson (i. 625) relies on the authority of Theodorus Valle.

<sup>50</sup> *Torre del Greco*.—The present town of 35,000 inhabitants stands on one of the lava streams that buried its predecessor. The town also suffered partial destruction in 1737, 1794, 1857, 1861. The Neapolitans have a proverb: "Napoli fa i peccati, e la Torre li paga."

<sup>60</sup> *Greco Wine*.—Sandys (260) says: "The lower parts of" Vesuvius "afford the best Greek wine in the world." Howell wrote to Robert Brown: "In a cup of the richest Greek we had your health, and I could not tell whether the wine or the remembrance of you was sweeter, for it was naturally a kind of aromatic wine, which left a fragrant perfuming kind of farewell behind it" (*Letters*, i. 49).

## VI

### VIRGIL'S TOMB—POSILIPO—THE GROTTA VECCHIO

ON Sunday we with our guide visited the so much celebrated Baiæ, and natural rarities of the places adjacent. Here we entered the mountaine Pausilipo, at the left hand of which they shew'd us Virgil's sepulchre erected on a steepe rock, in forme of a small rotunda or cupolated column, but almost overgrowne with bushes and wild baye trees. At the entrance is this inscription :

STANISI CENCOVIUS

1589.

Qui cineres? Tumuli hæc vestigia, conditur olim

Ille hoc qui cecinit Pascua, Rura, Duces.

Can. Rec. MDLIII.

After we were advanc'd into this noble and altogether wonderfull crypt, consisting of a passage spacious enough for two coaches to go on breast, cut thro' a rocky mountaine neere three quarters of a mile, (by the ancient Cimmericii as reported, but, as others say by L. Cocceius, who employed a hundred thousand men on it,) we came to the midway, where there is a well bor'd through the

## John Evelyn in Naples

diameter of this vast mountaine, which admitts the light into a pretty chapel, hewn out of the natural rock, wherein hang divers lamps perpetually burning. The way is pav'd under foote, but it does not hinder the dust, which rises so excessively in this much frequented passage, that we were forc'd at mid-day to use a torch. At length we were deliver'd from the bowels of the earth into one of the most delicious plaines of the world: the oranges, lemons, pomegranads, and other fruits, blushing yet on the perpetually greene trees; for the summer is here eternal, caus'd by the natural and adventitious heate of the earth, warm'd through the subterranean fires, as was shewn us by our guide, who alighted, and cutting up a turf w<sup>th</sup> his knife, and delivering it to me, was so hot I was hardly able to hold it in my hands. This mountaine is exceedingly fruitfull in vines, and exotics grow readily.

<sup>21</sup> *Virgil's Sepulchre.* — Virgil possessed a villa at Posilipo, and there wrote the *Georgics* and the *Æneid*. He died at Brundisium on his return from Greece in 19 B.C., and was buried at Naples. Statius wrote his poem within the shadow of the tomb (*Silv.*, iv. 450). Silius Italicus purchased the place, restored it, and, according to Pliny, frequented it as if it were a temple (*Ep.* iii. 7). According to a tradition recorded by Gervasius of Tilbury (fl. 1200), an English scholar came to the Court of Roger of Sicily, asking for nothing but the bones of Virgil. His sepulchre had been forgotten, but by magic arts the scholar broke into the centre of the mountain, and there found the poet, his body unchanged, and his head resting on his magic books. The scholar took the books, and the bones were placed behind a grating in the Castel Uovo. This is allied with a slightly later tradition, which asserts that the

## Virgil's Tomb, Posilipo, etc.

poet was buried in a castle surrounded by the sea, while John of Salisbury relates how the Castel Uovo was founded on an egg by the mighty magician, Virgil. Apart from these English fairy tales, the present site is supported by local tradition. The bay-tree before it is said to have died at the death of Dante. Petrarch came there with Robert the Wise and planted another, which was destroyed by relic-hunters early in the nineteenth century. There Boccaccio solemnly renounced trade for the service of the Muses. In 1326 Villani (*Cronaca di Napoli*) states that there was a monument with nine pillars sheltering an urn, and on the frieze the well-known inscription :

“ Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc  
Parthenope : cecini pascua, rura, duces.”

Villani also states that the urn was sent to Mantua. When Sandys (p. 260) visited the place, he says : “ A laurel thrusteth out her branches at the top of the ruined cupola, to honour him dead who merited it living.”

<sup>62</sup> *The Inscription*.—“ Staīsi Cencovius, 1589,” is rudely cut by another hand to the rest. The verse is correctly given save that *hoc* should be *hic*. Keysler (*Travels*, ii. 433) emended the Latinity, and in consequence Evelyn's editors have accused him of inexactitude. *Can. Rec.* is puzzling. The sculptor may have intended *Car: Ré.*, Charles V. being King in 1553.

<sup>63</sup> *The Old Tunnel* is 775 yards in length, and was constructed in the time of Augustus. It is mentioned by Seneca as a gloomy pass, and Medieval superstition attributed it to Virgil the Magician. Don Pedro de Toledo caused it to be paved. It is now superseded by the Grotto Nuovo.

<sup>64</sup> *The Cimmerians* dwelt in darkness and mist, far to the west, according to Homer (*Od.*, xi. 14). Later writers tried to localize them by the shores of Avernus and the mouths of Hell.

<sup>65</sup> *L. Cocceius* may have been a son of Marcus Cocceius, who was Consul in 36 B.C. Fynes Moryson says (i. 13) : “ Leander the Cosmographer, a witness without exception, attributes it to Cocceius, a Roman.”

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<sup>66</sup> *Dust and Darkness*.—Lassels writes (ii. 183): "We were left in the dark a good while till we came to the half-way, where there hangs a burning lamp before the picture of Our Saviour in the B. Virgin's arms. The light of this lamp was very grateful unto us; and I am confident a Puritan himself, were he here, would be glad to see this lamp and picture, and love them better for it ever after. All the way of this Grotto is very even and level, but hugely dusty: as a room must be that hath not been swept these 1,600 years. The people of the country, meeting here in the dark, know how to avoid one another, by going to Naples on the right side and returning on the left; that is, by keeping on the mountain side going and returning on the sea side: and this they express by often calling out, '*A la Montagna*,' or '*A la Marina*. . . .' Our guide understood the word, and he giving it unto me, and I to my next man, it ran through our whole brigade, which consisted of a dozen horsemen in all."



## VII

### THE GROTTO DEL CANE

WE now come to a lake almost two miles in circumference, environ'd with hills; the water of it is fresh and sweete on the surface but salt at botome, some mineral salt conjectured to be the cause, and 'tis reported of that profunditude in the middle that it is botomelesse. The people call it Lago d'Agnano from the multitude of serpents which involved together about the spring, fell downe from the cliffy hills into it. It has no fish nor will any live in it. We tried the old experiment on a dog in the Grotto del Cane, or Charon's Cave; it is not above three or four paces deepe, and about the height of a man, nor very broad. Whatever having life enters it presently expires. Of this we made tryal with two doggs, one of which we bound to a short pole to guide him the more directly into the further part of the den, where he was no sooner enter'd, but without the least noyse, or so much as a struggle, except that he panted for breath, lolling out his tongue, his eyes being fix'd; we drew him out dead to all appearance; but immediatly plunging him into y<sup>e</sup> adjoyning lake, within lesse than halfe an houre he recover'd, and

## John Evelyn in Naples

swimming to shore ran away from us. We tried the same on another dogg without the application of the water, and left him quite dead. The experiment has been made on men, as on that poore creature whom Peter of Toledo caus'd to go in; likewise on some Turkish slaves; two souldiers, and other foole-hardy persons, who all perished, and could never be recover'd by the water of the lake as are doggs, for which many learned reasons have been offer'd, as Simon Majolus in his book of the Canicular-dayes has mentioned, coloq. 15. And certainly the most likely is, the effect of those hot and dry vapours which ascend out of the earth and are condensed by the ambient cold, as appeares by their converting into chrystaline drops on y<sup>e</sup> top, whilst at the botome 'tis so excessively hott that a torch being extinguished near it, and lifted a little distance, was suddenly re'lighted.

<sup>67</sup> *The Lago d'Agnano* is an old crater four miles in circumference. It is not mentioned by ancient writers, and was probably formed in the Middle Ages. Far from being bottomless, it was drained in 1870, and the health of the neighbourhood has improved in consequence.

<sup>68</sup> *The Grotto del Cane* is a narrow cave, and not until you step down into it are you aware of the carbonic acid gas which there reaches to your knees. A couple of steps, and it reaches to your waist. No one goes further. The cave was known to Pliny, who speaks of "spiracula et scrobes Charonæ mortiferum exhalantes in agro Puteolano" (*N. H.*, ii. 93). Charles VIII. visited the cave, and had a donkey driven into it, which immediately died. Don John of Austria and Don Pedro of Toledo also tried experiments. A Frenchman, M. de Tournon, tried to pick up a pebble, and was over-

## The Grotto del Cane

powered by the vapours. His companions threw him into the lake, but he did not, like the dogs, recover. Fynes Moryson (i. 114) says: "We gave two poli to a woman there for a dog." The dogs were not freed from this experiment until the lake was drained. The torch is still extinguished, but not, as Evelyn says, relighted. Lithgow (p. 153) boasts of having been to the end of the cave and brought back two stones, but he confesses that no one believed his tale. Dr. Edward Browne, son of Sir Thomas, writes: "I went into the grot myself, and finding no inconvenience from these poisonous exhalations, either by standing or putting my hand to the place where the dog died, I was about to put my head to it also; when to the hindrance of my satisfaction in this point, my companions and the guide furiously tore me out of the grot, and I think, without some persuasion, would have thrown me into the lake also" (Sir T. Browne's *Works*, i. 78: Bohn). Joseph Addison (pp. 175-178) visited the grot, and conducted a series of experiments there with a lizard, a pistol, gunpowder, a sealed phial, and mercury. A little before, in 1695, Dr. Bernard Connor had published at Oxford an account of the cave in his dissertation, *De Antris Lethiferis*.

<sup>60</sup> *Don Pedro de Toledo*, Marquis of Villafranca, was born in 1484, and became Viceroy of Naples in 1532. He established justice and reformed the judicature, and in his first eight years owned to the hanging of 18,000 persons. He enlarged the city of Naples, cleared out the worst dens of infamy, paved and enlarged the streets, and commissioned Giovanni da Nola to construct the Via Toledo (Roma). He rebuilt Pozzuoli after the eruption of 1538 and made it his headquarters. He waged war successfully with the French and Turkish pirates and built castles for the protection of the coast. The taxes which he was forced to levy made him unpopular, and in his later years his unpopularity made him tyrannical. His attempts to introduce the Inquisition led to a revolt in 1547, but he retained his position of Viceroy until his death in 1555. His splendid monument is in San Giacomo Degli Spagnuoli. He was called "the fortunate knight," and his only daughter Elionora married Cosimo I.

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<sup>70</sup> *Don Pedro's Experiment*.—Fynes Moryson (i. 112) tells this story of Don John of Austria, who spent some days in Naples before starting for Lepanto. He says: "He forced a galley slave to go into this cave, and he, falling dead, forced another slave to fetch him out, who likewise fell dead, and that he killed the third slave with his own hand, because he refused to fetch out his two dead fellows."

<sup>71</sup> *Simon Majolus* was one of many scholars responsible for the Counter-Reformation. Besides his quaint book, *Dies Caniculares*, he wrote a *Defence of Holy Images*; the adoration of which was being attacked by the Protestants (Tiraboschi, vii., part i., p. 313).

<sup>72</sup> *Dies Caniculares* (Coll. xv., p. 692): "Life there [in the grotto] can easily be restored in all animals but man. For he perishes from this pestilent exhalation, whether from delicacy of constitution, in which he surpasses other creatures, or because he resists with senses and intellect, which last adds pain from knowledge of the danger, whereas the lower animals struggle only with their senses. . . . But there is another reason for a man's death. The basis of his life lies in the brain and heart, and is daily worn away by mental labour and daily becomes weaker, for we easily die from evil smells, pleasure and grief, far beyond other living creatures," etc.

## VIII

### SOLFATARA

NEERE to this cave are the natural stoves of St. Germain, of the nature of sudatories, in certain chambers partition'd with stone for the sick to sweate in, the vapours here being exceedingly hot, and of admirable successe in the goute and other cold distempers of the nerves. Hence we climb'd up an hill, the very highway in several places even smoaking w<sup>th</sup> heate like a founnace. The mountaines were by the Greekes called Leucoyei, and the fields Phlægrean. Hercules here vanquished the Gyants assisted with lightning. We now come to the Court of Vulcan, consisting of a valley neere a quarter of a mile in breadth, the margent inviron'd with steepe cliffs, out of whose side and foote break forth fire and smoke in abundance, making a noyse like a tempest of water, and sometimes discharging in lowd reports like so many guns. The heate of this place is wonderfull, the earth itselpe being almost insufferable, and which the subterranean fires have made so hollow, by having wasted the matter for so many yeares, that it sounds like a drum to those who walke upon it; and the water thus struggling with these fires, bubbles and spoutes aloft into the

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ayre. The mouthes of these spiracles are bestrew'd with variously-colour'd cinders, which rise w<sup>th</sup> the vapour, as do many colour'd stones, according to the quality of the combustible matter, insomuch as 'tis no little adventure to approach them; they are however daily frequented both by sick and well, the former receiving the fumes, having been recover'd of diseases esteem'd incurable. Here we found a greate deal of sulphure made, which they refine in certaine houses neere the place, casting it into canes, to a very greate value. Neere this we were shew'd a hill of alume, where is one of the best mineries, yielding a considerable revenue. Some floures of brasse are found here; but I could not but smile at those who perswade themselves that here are the gates of purgatory, (for which it may be they have erected very neere it a convent and named it St. Januarius) reporting to have often heard screeches and horrible lamentations proceeding from these caverns and volcanos; with other legends of birds that are never seene save on Sundayes, which cast themselves into the lake at night, appearing no more all y<sup>e</sup> weeke after.

We now approach'd the ruines of a very stately temple or theater, of 172 foote in length and about 80 in breadth, thrown down by an earthquake not long since; it was consecrated to Vulcan, and under the ground are many strange meanders, from w<sup>ch</sup> it is named the Labyrinth; this place is so haunted with batts that their perpetual fluttering endanger'd the putting out of our linkes.

## Solfatara

<sup>73</sup> *Stufe di San Germano*.—Lassels (ii. 186) says the stoves “are excellent remedies for the Neapolitan disease, called by some authors *campanus morbus* : Nature, an indulgent mother, thinking herself bound to afford a remedy to the disorders which she herself hath inclined the Neapolitans unto.”

<sup>74</sup> *Mountains, Fields, and Hercules*.—The Leucogæan (of white earth) hills, so called because chalk was dug there. (Pliny, *N. H.*, xviii. 11. 29). Phlegræan (burnt) fields. Here was the fabled battle between the Titans and Hercules, assisted by the gods. The victory was won by the thunderbolts of Jupiter.

<sup>75</sup> *Court of Vulcan*.—Hephæsti Agora, “a level space, surrounded by burning heights, with numerous chimney-like spiracles which rumble loudly, and the bottom is full of ductile sulphur” (Strabo, v. 4). It is now called Solfatara. The only recorded eruption of lava was in 1198, but even that is of doubtful authenticity, and the crater has probably shown much the same activity these 2,000 years.

<sup>76</sup> *Alum*.—“They prepare Rock-Alum on the Solfatara ; which is a dry, yellow and white mountain, all over burnt and worn by its own fire. They erect little cabins there, in which they labour at that work, and the sole heat of the vent makes the caldrons boil” (Misson, i. 437).

<sup>77</sup> *Mineries*, obsolete form of mines.

<sup>78</sup> *Flowers of Brass*.—In ancient chemistry the pulverulent form of any substance is spoken of as the flower.

<sup>79</sup> *The Gates of Purgatory*.—“The poor people in and about Naples are firmly persuaded that the fuming holes of the Solfatara are, in a literal sense, the real chimneys of hell. Capaccio, who examined the whole matter very nicely, is of the same opinion. He assures us that the . . . Capuchins, from time to time, hear most horrible howlings, and are often plagued with hobgoblins” (Misson, i. 437).

<sup>80</sup> *S. Germano*.—A Capuchin monastery founded in 1580 on the spot where S. Januarius is said to have been beheaded. Evelyn is without excuse for his implied suggestion, perhaps a joke.

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<sup>81</sup> *Birds*.—The birds, according to local superstitions, were souls in Purgatory liberated on the Sabbath.

<sup>82</sup> *The Temple*.—Comparing Evelyn's account with that of Misson (i. 438), it is obvious that he is referring to the amphitheatre. Misson gives the same measurements and also his authority, Capaccio. Fynes Moryson (i. 116) knew it was an amphitheatre, and gives the measurements as 172 feet by 88 feet. Sandys (p. 270) agrees with him. Their authority was Leander. The arena is in reality 236 feet by 138 feet. The major axis of the building was 482 feet, the minor 384 feet. The building was much damaged in 1538, and never properly excavated until 1838.

<sup>83</sup> *The Labyrinth*.—Fynes Moryson (i. 116) says: "Here we had not only need of the thread of Ariadne, but of light also to guide us. Leander thinks that all this building was to keep fresh water." To the north-west of the amphitheatre are ancient thermæ, which were connected with numerous reservoirs for the Naumachia.



## IX

### POZZUOLI

HENCE we passed againe those boiling and smoking hills till we came to Pozzuolo, formerly the famous Puteoli, the landing place of St. Paule when he came into Italy after the tempest described in the Acts of the Apostles. Here we made a good dinner, and bought divers medailes, antiquities, and other curiosities, of the country people, who daily find such things amongst the very old ruines of those places. This towne was formerly a Greeke Colonie, built by the Samians, a reasonable commodious port, and full of observable antiquities. We saw the ruines of Neptune's temple, to whome this place was sacred, and neere it the stately palace and gardens of Peter de Toledo, formerly mentioned. Afterwards we visited that admirably built temple of Augustus, seeming to have ben hewn out of an intire rock, tho' indeede consisting of several square stones. The inscription remains thus, "L. Calphurnius L. E. Templum Augusto cum ornamentis D.D." and under it; "L. Coccejus L. C. Postumi L. Auctus Architectus." It is now converted into a church, in

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which they shew'd us huge bones, w<sup>ch</sup> they affirme to have ben of some gyant.

<sup>84</sup> *Pozzuoli*.—It was first called Dicæarchia, and was the port of the Greek colony at Cuma. During the invasion of Hannibal, the Romans colonized it and called it Puteoli, from *putei*=wells, or, as Strabo (v. 4) suggests, from *putor*=stench, because the whole country was full of sulphur, fire, and hot springs. Its present name is due to the pozzolana earth found in the neighbourhood. The fall of Capua in 211 B.C. made Puteoli the merchant city and port of Rome. The rise of Ostia in the time of Claudius destroyed its importance. It was almost destroyed by the earthquake in 1538, but was restored, and became the favourite residence of Pedro de Toledo.

<sup>85</sup> *Acts of the Apostles* xxviii. 14.—S. Paul arrived in a corn-ship of Alexandria, and the corn-ships had the privilege of approaching the harbour with their topsails set.

<sup>86</sup> *Samians*.—This is a mistake probably due to Samians and Samnites being confused. The Samnites stormed Cuma in 420 B.C., and probably possessed themselves of Dicæarchia at the same time.

<sup>87</sup> *The Haven*.—Fynes Moryson (i. 115) says: "The haven of old was very commodious, but by negligence is grown of no use."

<sup>88</sup> *The Temple of Neptune*.—The ruins now called the Temple of Neptune are submerged. The building referred to by Evelyn and Raymond (p. 157) is probably the *Serapeum* of modern guide-books. Some modern antiquaries maintain that it was a macellum, or market hall.

<sup>89</sup> *The Temple of Augustus* = S. Proculo. It contains the relics of the saint who was martyred with S. Januarius in A.D. 305.

<sup>90</sup> *Calpurnius*.—Brother of Julius Cæsar's last wife, and son of that Lucius Calpurnius Piso whom Cicero accused of spoiling Macedonia. He had a villa at Herculaneum, and the Resting Mercury and Sleeping Faun in the Museum at Naples have been rescued from its ruins.

<sup>91</sup> *Cocceius*.—Perhaps a son of that Marcus Cocceius who

## Pozzuoli

made peace between Marc Antony and Augustus, and is referred to by Horace (*Sat.* i. v. 50).

<sup>92</sup> *The Giant*.—Fynes Moryson says : “ There be shewn the bones of a giant of wonderful bigness.” In legend he was supposed to represent the race with which Hercules had to contend. Sandys (p. 273) translates some verses of Pomponius Lætus on the subject.

## X

### POZZUOLI AND THE BAY OF BAIÆ

WE went to see the ruins of the old haven, so compact with that bituminous sand in which the materials are layd, as the like is hardly to be found, though all this has not been sufficient to protect it from the fatal concussions of several earthquakes (frequent here) which have almost demolish'd it, thirteen vast piles of marble onely remaining, a stupendous worke in the bosome of Neptune! To this joynes the bridg of Caligula, by which (having now embarq'd ourselves) we sail'd to the pleasant Baiæ, almost 4 miles in length, all which way that proud Emperor would passe in triumph. Here we row'd along towards a villa of the orator Cicero's, where we were shew'd the ruins of his Academy, and at the foote of a rock his Bathes, the waters reciprocating their tides w<sup>th</sup> the neighbouring sea. Hard at hand rises Mount Gaurus, being, as I conceiv'd, nothing save an heape of pumices, which here floate in abundance to the sea, exhausted of all inflammable matter by the fire, w<sup>ch</sup> renders them light and porous, so as the beds of niter w<sup>ch</sup> lye deepe under them having taken fire dos easily eject

## Pozzuoli and the Bay of Baia

them. They dig much for fancied treasure said to be conceal'd about this place. From hence we coasted neere the ruines of Portus Julius, where we might see divers stately palaces y<sup>t</sup> had been swallow'd up by the sea after earthquakes. Coming to shore we passe by the Lucrine Lake, so famous heretofore for its delicious oysters, now producing few or none, being divided from y<sup>e</sup> sea by a banke of incredible labour, the suppos'd worke of Hercules; 'tis now halfe chock'd up w<sup>th</sup> rubbish, and by part of the new mountaine, which rose partly out of it and partly out of the sea, and that in the space of one night and a day, to a very great altitude, on the 29<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1538, after many terrible earthquakes, w<sup>ch</sup> ruin'd divers places thereabout, when at midnight the sea retiring neere 200 paces, and yawning on the sudaine, it continued to vomit forth flames and fiery stones in such quantity as produced this whole mountaine by their fall, making the inhabitants of Pozzuole to leave their habitations, supposing the end of the world had ben come.

<sup>93</sup> *Bituminous Sand* = Pozzolana earth. "The sand which they use for building at Puzzoli deserves to be taken notice of. Vitruvius commends it extremely; and Pliny boasts much of it: it enters the composition of a certain sort of mortar, which grows as hard as marble, even in the sea" (Misson, i. 439). Vitruvius says: "Puteolanus pulvis, si aquam attigit, saxum est."

<sup>94</sup> *The Pier*.—The present Mole incorporates the relics of the Roman pier, which consisted of twenty-five separate buttresses supporting twenty-four arches. It was injured by a storm in Hadrian's reign, and restored by Antoninus Pius in A.D. 139. The rings for attaching the boats of Caligula's

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bridge are now, through the subsidence of the ground,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  feet under water.

<sup>95</sup> *Caligula's Bridge* was a bridge of boats (Suetonius, *Caligula*, § 19). Across this bridge the Emperor, clad in the armour of Alexander the Great, celebrated his triumph over the Parthians.

<sup>96</sup> *Villa and Academy of Cicero*.—Cicero had a villa at Puteoli before his friend and banker, Clusus, left him a splendid property in the neighbourhood. It was here, in 54 B.C., he began to write his *De Republica*. It was perhaps at Puteoli, though some scholars think at Formiæ, that he entertained Julius Cæsar. His villa subsequently belonged to Hadrian, who was temporarily buried there. The true site is probably where Armstrong and Co. have their works, although Lithgow (p. 351) seems to place it further to the west. When Misson (i. 454) visited the spot, the supposed ruins were stalls for oxen.

<sup>97</sup> *Mount Gaurus* = Monte Barbaro is an extinct volcano. It was famed for its fertility. Pontanus wrote:

“Invitant volucres canoræ, et ipse  
Gaurus pampineas parat corollas.”

(*Hendecasyllabi*, p. 208.)

Two hundred years afterwards Addison wrote: “Mount Gaurus, from one of the most fruitful parts of Italy, has become one of the most barren” (p. 167).

<sup>98</sup> *Buried Treasure*.—Petrarch (*Carm.*, ii. 7), when he climbed the mountain in 1343, was told legends of the hidden wealth and the perils of seeking it. The peasants still believe, says Mr. Norway (*Naples: Past and Present*, p. 37), “the mountains to contain vast treasures, statues of Kings and Queens, all cast of solid gold, with heaps of coins and jewels so immense that great ships would be needed to carry them away.” He suggests that the tradition arose from the treasure stored by the Goths at Cumæ after their surrender to Narses, the Imperial General.

<sup>99</sup> *Portus Julius*.—Augustus constructed a naval harbour here, and cut channels connecting it with the Lucrine Lake

## Pozzuoli and the Bay of Baia

and Avernus. The harbour, however, soon silted up, and the fleet was transferred to Misenum.

<sup>100</sup> *Lucrine Lake*.—Addison (p. 167) says it is "a puddle to what it once was," owing to the rise of Monte Nuovo. The oyster industry, however, again flourishes.

<sup>101</sup> *The Via Herculea*.—This ancient causeway extends nearly a mile, and is built of large stone slabs laid with such skill that they have withstood the waves for centuries. Even the Greeks who founded Cumæ in 800 B.C. did not know who built it. So tradition asserted that Hercules constructed it that he might drive across the Bulls of Geryon (Norway, *Naples*, p. 45).

<sup>102</sup> *The Earthquake of 1538* began, not on September 29, but on September 27, and continued three days. Pozzuoli was ruined. The new mountain arose in a single day to the height of 455 feet, belching forth stones and lava. The event, sensational enough in itself, led to much exaggeration. Francesco del Nero, who was a witness, says that for seventy miles the earth was covered with ashes. Fynes Moryson (i. 116) says the eruption lasted seven days, and that the new mountain was three miles high and four in circumference! Sandys translates (p. 278) some verses of Borgius on the subject. "The whole coast," says Symonds, "has been spoiled by the recent eruption of Monte Nuovo, with its lava floods and cindery deluges. Nothing remains to justify its fame among the ancient Romans and the Neapolitans of Boccaccio's and Pontanus's age" (*Sketches, etc., in Italy and Greece*, iii. 242).

## XI

### AVERNUS—CUMA—BAGNI DI TRITOLA

FROM the left part of this we walked to the lake Avernus, of a round forme, and totally environ'd w<sup>th</sup> mountains. This lake was fam'd by the Poete for the gates of hell, by w<sup>ch</sup> Æneas made his descent, and where they sacrificed to Pluto and the Manes. The waters are of a remarkable black colour, but I tasted of them without danger; hence they faigne y<sup>t</sup> the river Styx has its source. At the one side stand the handsome ruines of a Temple dedicated to Apollo, or rather Pluto, but 'tis controverted. Opposite to this having new lighted our torches, we enter a vast cave, in which having gon about two hundred paces, we passe a narrow entry which leads us into a room about 10 paces long, proportionable broad and high; the side walls and rooffe retaine still the golden Mosaiq, though now exceedingly decay'd by time. Here is a short cell, or rather niche, cut out of the solid rock, somewhat resembling a couch, in which they report that the Sibylla lay and utter'd her oracles; but is supposed by most to have been a bath onely. This subterranean grotto leads quite through to Cuma, but is in some places obstructed by the earth w<sup>ch</sup> has sunk in, so as we were con-



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strain'd back againe and to creep on our bellys before we came to the light. 'Tis reported Nero had once resolved to cut a channel for two greate galleys y<sup>t</sup> should have extended to Ostia, 150 miles distant. The people now call it Licola.

From thence we ascended to y<sup>t</sup> most ancient city of Italy, the renowned Cuma, built by y<sup>e</sup> Grecians. It stands on a very eminent promontory, but is now an heape of ruines. A little below stands the Arco Felice, heretofore part of Apollo's temple, with the foundations of divers goodly buildings; amongst whose heapes are frequently found statues and other antiquities, by such as dig for them. Neere this is the Lake Acherutia and Acheron. Returning to the shore we came to the Bagnie de Tritoli and Diana, w<sup>ch</sup> are onely long narrow passages cut through the maine rock, where the vapours ascend so hot that entering w<sup>th</sup> the body erect you will even faint w<sup>th</sup> excessive perspiration, but stooping lower, as sudden a cold surprises. These sudatories are much in request for many infirmityes.

<sup>103</sup> *Avernus* was a lake without birds, and supposed to be the mouth of hell. In the *Æneid* (vi. 290-304) the doves of Venus cross the evil-smelling lake; but Lucretius (vi. 741-749) states that all birds fell into it and perished. Strabo (v. 4) says that in his time the woods had been cut down and the land cultivated. Avernus had lost its terrors, and so Silius Italicus writes a long passage, beginning,

“Stagna inter celebrem nunc mitia monstrat Avernum.”

(Book xii. 121.)

In the Middle Ages Avernus was again unhealthy, and Boccaccio speaks of sulphurous streams that destroyed all fish. At present Avernus is by no means without birds.

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Misson (i. 447) compares it with Withay in Yorkshire, where wild geese were said to fall down dead. Evelyn, it will be noted, drank of the water, though Fynes Moryson (i. 117) tells us on the authority of Leander that no native would taste it, "because they thought it came from hell."

<sup>104</sup> *Virgil.—Æneid, vi. 237.*

<sup>105</sup> *Styx.*—A river of the infernal regions. Silius Italicus confounds the river with the lake of Avernus and Cocytus, and the modern guide does so to-day.

<sup>106</sup> *Temple of Apollo.*—Early antiquaries connected these ruins with the temple referred to by Virgil as built by Dædalus (*Æn.*, vi. 18). Misson, however, writes: "It is uncertain whether the ruins, which are next to the lake, are of a Temple of Mercury or Neptune; but Antiquaries agree that it was not of a Temple of Apollo, as the vulgar suppose" (i. 448). Antiquaries are now agreed that the ruins are the remains of baths.

<sup>107</sup> *The Grotto of the Sibyll* is correctly described. The small square chamber with the mosaic was almost certainly a bath. The Grotto has nothing to do with the one described by Virgil (*Æn.*, vi. 43), which was at Cuma, and destroyed by Narses. Fynes Moryson (i. 118) says: "We gave a clown three *poli* for leading us through the cave of Sibylla." Lithgow (p. 351) calls it "a decent room," and adds, "here it is said the Devil frequented her [the Sibyll's] company."

<sup>108</sup> *The Cumean Sibyll.*—The Sibylls were prophetic virgins dedicated to Apollo. Lactantius (i. 6) says they were ten in number, and that each belonged to a different country. It is hard, however, to imagine how the ancients believed that the guide of Æneas, although *longæva sacerdos*, was the same Sibyll as she who sold the prophetic books to Tarquinius Priscus. The Roman oracles were burnt in the capitol 83 B.C., but Sulla made a new collection, and Augustus stored them at the foot of the Palatine Apollo. But before the Christian era and afterwards collections were made of oracular sayings which were attributed to the Sibylls. Cicero (*De Divin.*, ii. 112) repudiated them because their acrostic form was inconsistent with the frenzy of inspiration. Jews and Christians in

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Alexandria subsequently adopted such oracles for their own purposes, and Celsus sneered at the Christians for being Sibyllistæ. S. Jerome and S. Augustine believed in these books as genuine. Julian the Apostate was the last to consult the books at Rome, and, according to the pagan Ammianus Marcellinus, burnt the works of the Cumean Sibyll because she prophesied of Christ. Stilicho ordered the destruction of the official collection made by Sulla. Owing to the influence of the Fathers, Christians long looked on the Sibylls as endowed with the true prophetic powers, likening them to Baalam. Sibylls and Prophets decorate the Sistine Chapel, and in the seventeenth century there is a long letter from Howell to Lady Sibylla Browne (*Letters*, iv. 490) vindicating the Sibylls and detailing their prophecies. Sir T. Browne (*Pseudodoxia*, book v., chap. xi.) solemnly discusses their number and age, with quotations from Suidas, Salmasius, and others. During the last century the Sibylline books have given rise to much controversy. Dr. Dechent has come to the conclusion that these Sibylline writings, derived from Christian sources, all show heretical tendencies.

<sup>109</sup> *Nero's Canal*.—The Grotto of the Sibyll may have connected the Lucrine Lake with Avernus. The Grotto della Pace does connect Avernus with Cuma. Its modern name is due to a Spaniard, Pietro della Pace, who explored it in 1507. This passage was first constructed by Agrippa, but it is supposed to have formed part of Nero's scheme, A.D. 64, of cutting a navigable canal from the mouth of the Tiber to Portus Julius.

<sup>110</sup> *Licola*.—Evelyn here is slightly confused. Lago di Licola is the modern name for the ancient Acheron.

<sup>111</sup> *Cumæ* is built on a volcanic eminence about 300 feet above the sea. It is the earliest Greek town in Italy, and its founders are said to have come from Chalcis, in Eubœa, in the eighth century B.C. It was the centre from which Hellenic worship and civilization were diffused. The Italian alphabet is derived from Cumæ. The Roman Oracles came from Cumæ. Pozzuoli was founded from Cumæ. There Tarquinius died an exile. Pindar in his first Pythian Ode celebrates the victory of Hiero of Syracuse, and the Cumeans over the Etruscans in

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474 B.C. The Samnites stormed the town in 420 B.C., and it became a Roman possession 337 B.C. Thenceforward it decayed, until in the fifth century A.D. it became the last stronghold of the Goths. Four hundred years later it was burned by the Saracens, and in A.D. 1207 it was finally destroyed by the inhabitants of Naples and Aversa, having become a nest for pirates.

<sup>112</sup> *Arco Felice*.—A huge brickwork structure 65 feet high and 18½ feet broad, spanning a hollow through which Domitian built a direct road from Cumæ to Puteoli.

<sup>113</sup> *Curiosities*.—In the Museum at Naples are four rooms containing the Collezione Cumana.

<sup>114</sup> *Acherusia*=Lago del Fusaro—a lagoon separated from the sea by sand-dunes. Once the port of Cumæ.

<sup>115</sup> *Acheron*=Lago di Licola—a similar lagoon to the north.

<sup>116</sup> *Bagni di Tritola*, also called by seventeenth-century travellers the Baths of Cicero and the Baths of Nero. Raymond (p. 155) says: "These waters were so sovereign, not many years hence, over many diseases, that over every bath was written for what it was good, of which inscriptions some letters yet stand, but the Physitians of Palermo (Misson, i. 454, says Salernum) . . . finding those waters prejudicial to their custome, went with instruments expressly, and demolished those writings (so that for the present they are unuseful), the said Physitians being all cast away in their return." Both Addison and Lassels note the current of cold air near the floor, but the latter did not penetrate far. Having seen some "stradling wide," he refused to go on. "I being well without them (the baths), had no mind to be choked in seeking out health" (ii. 191). "Near this bath," says Burnet (p. 213), "there are galleries hewed out of the rock, and faced with a building, in which there are, as it were, bedsteads made in the walls, upon which those who come hither to sweat for their health, lay their quilts and bedclothes, and so come regularly out of their sweats." Travellers, according to Fynes Moryson (i. 118), paid a paolo to see the place.

## XII

### BAIÆ AND BAULI

Now we enter'd the haven of Baiæ where once stood that famous towne, so call'd from the companion of Ulysses here buried; not without great reason celebrated for one of the most delicious places that the sunn shines on, according to that of Horace:

“Nullus in Orbe locus Baiis præluceat amœnis.”

Though as to the stately fabrics there now remaine little save the ruines, whereof the most intire is that of Diana's temple, and another of Venus. Here were those famous pooles of lampreys that would come to hand when called by name, as Martial tells us. On the sum'ite of the rock stands a strong castle garrison'd to protect the shore from Turkish pyrates. It was once the retyring place of Julius Cæsar. Passing by y<sup>e</sup> shore againe we entered Bauli, observable from the monstrous murder of Nero committed on his mother Agrippina. Her sepulchre was yet shew'd us in the rock, w<sup>ch</sup> we enter'd, being cover'd with sundry heads and figures of beasts. We saw there the rootes of a tree turn'd into stone, and are continually dropping.

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<sup>117</sup> *Baiæ*, in the latter days of the Republic and under the early Empire, was the most fashionable resort of the Romans. Clodius, Cicero reports, taunted him with having been there (*ad Att.*, i. 16). His birth and his respectability alike rendered his association with Baiæ ridiculous. The luxury of the place was unsurpassed. It was "the golden shore." Magnificent villas were built far into the water (Horace, *Odes*, ii. xviii. 20); and the sea has had its revenge by swallowing up most of the ancient town. Lassels (ii. 190) says: "Time, which in all other places is called *edax rerum*, may here be called *Bibax rerum*, having sup'd up here a whole town." The profligacy of the place is described in the Fifty-First Epistle of Seneca. Propertius writes: "Littora quæ fuerant castis inimica puellis." Under the later Empire the place decayed. The Saracens sacked it in the eighth century, and in 1500 it was deserted on account of malaria. It is now regaining some importance as a health resort.

<sup>118</sup> *Ulysses' Companion*.—Strabo (v. 4) states that the town was named after one of the companions of Ulysses. Cf. Servius ad Verg., *Æn.*, iii. 441.

<sup>119</sup> *Horace*.—*Ep.* i. 83.

<sup>120</sup> *Temple of Diana*.—The ruins are just opposite the present railway station. The so-called temple is an octagon building, with a half-preserved dome. Within are four recesses and the remains of a water conduit.

<sup>121</sup> *Temple of Venus*.—Is another octagon building dating from the early Empire. Martial (*Ep.* iii. 57) calls Baiæ "Littus beatæ Veneris."

<sup>122</sup> *Lampreys*.—Raymond (p. 153) speaks of visiting "the Pescherics of Hortensius." His villa was at Bauli. Izaak Walton (*Complete Angler*, chap. xiii.) writes: "Sir Francis Bacon . . . in his *History of Life and Death*, mentions a lamprey belonging to a Roman Emperor, to be made tame, and so kept for almost three-score years; and that such useful and pleasant observations were made of this lamprey, that Crassus, the Orator, who kept her, lamented her death; and we read in Dr. Hakewill that Hortensius was seen to weep at the death of a lamprey, that he had kept long and loved exceedingly."

## Baiæ and Bauli

Hortensius was said to have so tamed his lampreys that they came at his call and fed from his hand.

<sup>123</sup> *Martial*.—Book iv., Ep. 30.

<sup>124</sup> *The Castle* was built by Don Pedro de Toledo after the Turkish pirate Barbarossa had seized Capri. It is now in private hands.

<sup>125</sup> *Julius Cæsar*.—The gardens of Cæsar were famous. From Cicero (*ad Att.*, xi. 9) we infer that they adjoined the gardens of Hortensius, and were not in Baiæ itself.

<sup>126</sup> *Bauli*, now Bacoli, two miles from Baiæ.

<sup>127</sup> *Agrippina* the younger was the daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina, born at Cologne. She married three times; first, Ahenobarbus, by whom she became the mother of Nero, and, lastly, her uncle Claudius. She murdered her stepson Britannicus, and ensured the succession of her own son when he was seventeen. For the next five years she ruled in his name. Then Anicetus, Nero's freedman, devised a ship that would fall to pieces in the sea, and the Empress, returning in it from Baiæ, was cast into the water, but rescued by those not privy to the plot. Anicetus then invaded her villa and stabbed her. She died exclaiming: "Strike the womb that bore this monster!"

<sup>128</sup> *Tomb of Agrippina* is semicircular, with reliefs and paintings in the vaulted passage. In fact, it is the ruin of a small theatre. Fynes Moryson (i. 118) thought it "one of the finest old monuments I did ever see."

### XIII

#### MISENUM

THUS having view'd the foundations of the old Cimeria, the palaces of Marius, Pompey, Nero, Hortensius, and other villas and antiquities, we proceeded towards the promontory of Misenum, renowned for y<sup>e</sup> sepulchre of Æneas's Trumpeter. 'Twas once a greate citty, now hardly a ruine, sayd to have been built from this place to the promontory of Minerva, 50 miles distant, now discontinu'd and demolish'd by the frequent earthquakes. Here was the villa of Caius Marius, where Tiberius Cæsar died; and here runs the Aqueduct, thought to be dug by Nero, a stupendous passage, heretofore nobly arch'd w<sup>th</sup> marble, as the ruines testifie. Hence we walked to those receptacles of water cal'd Piscina Mirabile, being a vault of 500 feet long, and 22 in breadth, the rooffe prop'd up with 4 rankes of square pillars, 12 in a row; the walls are brick plaster'd over w<sup>th</sup> such a composition as for strength and politure resembles white marble. 'Tis conceiv'd to have been built by Nero, as a conservatory for fresh water; as were also the Centi Camerelli, into which we were next led. All these crypta being now



## Misenum

almost sunke into y<sup>e</sup> earth, shew yet their former amplitude and magnificence.

<sup>129</sup> *Misenum*.—For funeral of Misenus and the naming of the cape, *vide Æn.*, vi. 212-235. Roman nobles built villas here in the century before Christ, and local antiquaries have named the ruins after them. Augustus established here the principal naval port on the Tyrrhene Sea, and here the Admiral resided. A great town sprang up, and Evelyn is approximately correct in saying that the shore of the whole bay of Naples was built over from Cape Miseno to Cape Minerva (Punta Capanella). The town of Misenum was destroyed by the Saracens in A.D. 890.

<sup>130</sup> *The Villa of Caius Marius* was purchased by Lucullus, and here the latter constructed parks and fishponds, cutting through rocks and throwing out advanced works into the sea. Pompey in derision called him the Roman Xerxes. Some ruins on the height are supposed to belong to this villa.

<sup>131</sup> *Tiberius*.—In A.D. 37 Tiberius left Capri, travelled slowly along the Appian Way, and looked for a last time on Rome without entering the city. He then retraced his steps, and died in the Villa of Lucullus (*vide supra*) on March 16.

<sup>132</sup> *The Aqueduct* = the Grotto Dragonara, a subterranean chamber on the west side of the Promontory, with vaulted roof, supported by twelve pillars. It may have been a naval depot or a reservoir, but it was not an aqueduct.

<sup>133</sup> *Piscina Mirabilis* is an admirably preserved reservoir but it is only 230 feet in length, not 500, while it is 85 feet in width, not 22. Lassels (ii. 189) writes: "It was either for the Roman galleys which used to lie hereabouts in this harbour; or else for the Romans' *gusto*, who, having their curious villas hereabouts, had no mind to drink of the springs of this bituminous country."

<sup>134</sup> *The Plaster*.—Raymond (p. 153) says: "The material 'tis plaistered with, in the inside is as durable as stone, yet no man knows of what it is composed; some conceive it to be of the whites of eggs and dust of marble mingled together." "It is so white," says Burnet (p. 212), "that one can hardly

## John Evelyn in Naples

think it hath not been washed ever since it was first made.”

<sup>135</sup> *Politure*, from the Latin *polire*. There is an obsolete French word, *politure* = Polish.

<sup>136</sup> *Conservatory*. — In this obsolete sense the word was commonly used in the seventeenth century (*vide* N. E. D.). For our current use of the word *conservatory*=greenhouse, we are indebted to John Evelyn (*Sylva*, p. 413). We are also indebted to him for the thing itself. In his *Kalendarium Hortense* he describes a conservatory or greenhouse with figures showing how such a building may be warmed, ventilated, and lighted (*Misc. Works*, 470-497).

<sup>137</sup> *Cento Camerelle*.—The upper story was certainly a reservoir. The use of the lower is still undetermined. Lassels (ii. 189) thought the little chambers were intended for galley slaves. Raymond (p. 152) calls it a “hideous place” where Nero kept his prisoners. It is still called “Carceri di Nerona.”

## XIV

### BACK TO NAPLES

RETURNING towards Baiæ, we againe passe the Elyssian Fields, so celebrated by the poetes, nor unworthily, for their situation and verdure, being full of myrtills and sweete shrubs, and having a most delightful prospect towards the Tyrrhen Sea. Upon the verge of these remaine the ruines of the Mercato di Saboto, formerly a Circus; over the arches stand divers urnes full of Roman ashes.

Having well satisfied our curiosity among these antiquities, we retir'd to our felucca, w<sup>ch</sup> row'd us back againe towards Pozzuolo, at the very place of St. Paule's landing. Keeping along the shore they shew'd us a place where the sea-water and sands did exceedingly boyle. Thence to y<sup>e</sup> island Nesis, once the fabulous Nymph; and thus we leave the Baiæ, so renowned for the sweete retirements of the most opulent and voluptuous Romans. They certainly were places of uncommon amœnitie, as their yet tempting site and other circumstances of natural curiosities easily invite me to believe, since there is not in the world so many stupendious rarities to be met with as in the circle of a few miles which environ these blissful aboades.

## John Evelyn in Naples

<sup>138</sup> *The Elysian Fields*.—In Homer (*Od.*, iv. 563) Elysium was the happy land in the far West, whither warriors like Menelaus went without dying. For Hesiod and Pindar they were the isles of the blessed far in the western ocean. Virgil made them part of the lower world, and through Virgil they were connected with the Bay of Naples. All seventeenth-century travellers were not so pleased as Evelyn. Raymond (p. 152) writes of them as “a plain spot of earth between Mount Misenus and the Augustine’s convent, of twenty acres.” Lassels (ii. 188) adds: “If Baiæ were a town still, a man might make a fine Bowling-ground here.”

<sup>139</sup> *The Mercato di Sabato*.—Probably the ancient columbaria by the roadside are intended. Raymond (p. 152) agrees with Evelyn. Lassels, on the other hand, speaks of the ruins “looking still like a street.” Misson (i. 452) says: “Some pretend that they are the remains of a circus; and those who deny it know not what to determine.”

<sup>140</sup> *Felucca*.—This kind of boat originated in Southern Italy. Bargrave (p. 38) says it was “a boat about as big as Gravesend Barge.” Lassels (i. 30) speaks of it as “a boat a little bigger than a pair of oars.” In the Venetian Navy some carried three lateen sails and a crew of ten rowers (*Wiel’s Navy of Venice*, p. 346).

<sup>141</sup> *Nesis* = Nisida, “where,” says Fynes Moryson (i. 120), “the poets fable . . . that the witch Calypso dwelt.” “The whole island,” says Addison (p. 208), “looks like a large terrace garden.” It once belonged to Lucullus, but is more prominently associated with the life of Brutus. Here Cicero visited him in 44 B.C. Here the conspiracy against Cæsar is said to have been planned. Here Portia is said to have committed suicide by swallowing burning coals after parting with her husband.

<sup>142</sup> *A Contrast*.—Addison sums up his impressions of this locality by saying: “I must confess that, having surveyed the antiquities about Naples and Rome, I cannot but think that our admiration of ’em does not so much arise out of their greatness as uncommonness.”

## XV

### NAPLES

*Feb. 8th.*—Returned to Naples, we went to see the Arsenal, well furnish'd with gallies and other vessells. The city is crowded with inhabitants, gentlemen and merchants. The government is held of the Pope by an annual tribute of 40,000 ducats and a white genet; but the Spanyard trusts more to the power of those his actual subjects there; Apulia and Calabria yielding him neare 4 millions of crownes yearely to maintaine it. The country is divided into 13 Provinces, 20 Archbishops, and 107 Bishops. The estates of the nobility, in default of the male line, reverting to the King. Besides the Vice-Roy there is amongst the Chiefe Magistrates an High Constable, Admiral, Chief Justice, Greate Chamberlaine, and Chancelor, with a Secretary; these being prodigiously avaricious, do wonderfully inrich themselves out of the miserable people's labour, silks, manna, sugar, oyle, wine, rice, sulphur, and alome, for w<sup>th</sup> all these riches is this delicious country blest. The manna falls at certain seasons on the adjoining hills in forme of a thick deuw. The very winter here is a summer, ever fruitfull,

## John Evelyn in Naples

so that in the middle of February we had melons, cherries, abricots, and many other sorts of fruit.

The building of the city is for the size the most magnificent of any in Europe, the streets exceeding large, well paved, having many vaults and conveyances under them for the sullage, w<sup>ch</sup> renders them very sweete and cleane even in the midst of winter. To it belongeth more than 3000 churches and monasteries, and those the best built and adorn'd of any in Italy. They greatly affect the Spanish gravity in their habite; delight in good horses; the streets are full of gallants on horseback, in coaches and sedans, from hence brought first into England by Sir Sanders Duncomb. The women are generally well featur'd, but excessively libidinous. The country people so jovial and addicted to musick, that the very husbandmen almost universaly play on the guitarr, singing and composing songs in prayse of their sweethearts, and wil commonly goe to the field with their fiddle; they are merry, witty and genial, all w<sup>ch</sup> I must attribute to the excellent quality of the ayre. They have a deadly hatred to the French, so that some of our company were flouted at for wearing red cloakes, as the mode then was.

This I made the *non ultra* of my travels, sufficiently sated with rolling up and downe, and resolving within myselfe to be no longer an *individuum vagum* if ever I got home againe, since from the report of divers experienc'd and curious persons I had ben assur'd that there was little more to be

## Naples

scene in the rest of the civil world, after Italy, France, Flanders, and the Low Countries, but plaine and prodigious barbarisme.

<sup>143</sup> *The Arsenal*.—Fynes Moryson (i. 111) says there were twenty galleys and ten small ships. Sandys (p. 258) says thirty-seven galleys. Lassels (ii. 171) says: "Its ordinary squadron of galleys is but twenty." The writer in the *Harl. Misc.* (v. 33) speaks of 200 galleys, an extra nought having obviously crept into his notes.

<sup>144</sup> *The Inhabitants*.—Naples was long known as the *Gentle City*. It was "well filled with nobility and the nobility well mounted" (Lassels, ii. 171). "No part of Italy," says Barclay (*Icon Aminarum*, p. 209), is filled with nobility of more haughty and proud dispositions. They are practisers of arms and horsemanship, lovers of labour and studious of all magnificence." As for the common people, "the Neapolitan," says Raymond in his introduction, "is so elevated with his imaginary revenues, that in his deepest poverty he will speak thousands rather than betray his wants. One will sit gravely before his door picking his teeth, and condemn the last capon that he ate, when a morsel of bread would pass merrily down."

<sup>145</sup> *The Tribute*.—In Evelyn's *Diary*, November 22, 1644, he says that the tribute consisted of five Neapolitan horses, not one. Sandys (p. 257) says: "The Germans, in acknowledgment of their tenure of the Papacy, gave the Pope yearly eight and forty thousand ducats, together with a white horse. The money, though remitted by Julius the Second unto Ferdinand the Catholic, yet to this day is paid together with the white hackney."

<sup>146</sup> *Revenue*.—Sandys (p. 258) computes the revenue at only 2,050,000 ducats. Moreover, he states that 1,030,000 went in pensions, and that the remainder did not nearly cover expenses.

<sup>147</sup> *Divisions, etc.*—Lassels (ii. 171) writes of the kingdom of Naples: "It hath in it twenty Archbishops' sees; an hundred and twenty-five Bishops; a thousand and five hundred

## John Evelyn in Naples

Boroughs ; two million souls ; ten Principalities ; twenty-five Duchies ; thirty Marquisates ; fifty-four Countries [Counties] ; and about a thousand Baronies, whereof four hundred are ancient." Sandys (258) agrees exactly with Evelyn.

<sup>148</sup> *Escheat*, owing to the failure of the male line, was once the rule wherever feudalism prevailed. Sandys (255) : "For fault of heirs male, their principalities revert to the king, who sells them most commonly to men of mean birth, and meaner spirits, who are hated of the honourable."

<sup>149</sup> *Avarice of Officials*.—"The King of Spain sends some of his Grandees hither to repair their decayed fortunes ; whence the saying sprung, that the Viceroy of Sicily gnaws, the Governor of Milan eats, but the Viceroy of Naples devours" (Howell, *Letters*, i. 55).

<sup>150</sup> *Trade in Naples*.—Fynes Moryson says : "This city is also provided with all sorts of merchandise, especially silk wares ; and there is daily such great trading, as in other places in time of fairs. . . . There is one street called Langrudeca ; therein are above five hundred shops, furnished with nothing but old and new apparel to be sold."

<sup>151</sup> *Manna*.—Philips, who was assisted by Evelyn, writes in his *Worlde of Wordes* (1696), under the heading "Manna," as follows : "There is also at this day a certain sweet white liquor which drops of itself, from branches and leaves, but chiefly of ash trees, as well common as wild ones, not everywhere, but in Calabria, and about Brianson, during the dog-days and a little before ; and this juice being after condensed and dried in the sun, is called Manna. And therefore they are extremely deceived who will have it to be a honey of the air, proceeding from a vapour raised from the earth, digested in the air and condensed by the cold."

<sup>152</sup> *Drainage at Naples*.—This city was the first to have a system of underground drainage. It was also well supplied with water from Porro Real. The author in the *Harl. Misc.* thought these things most worthy to be noted.

<sup>153</sup> *Streets of Naples*.—Fynes Moryson (i. 112) says : "It hath three fair, broad and long streets—La Tolitana, La Capuana, and La Vicaria ; the rest are very narrow." Sandys



## Naples

(p. 259) says: "The streets are broad and paved with brick, vaulted underneath for the conveyance of the sullage, and served with water by fountains and conduits."

<sup>154</sup> *Churches*.—Three hundred would be more correct.

<sup>155</sup> *Dress*.—Fynes Moryson (iii. 171) says: "The Neapolitans are glittering and sumptuous."

<sup>156</sup> *Sedan Chairs in Naples*.—Fynes Moryson (i. 112) says: "At the end of many streets they had chairs, vulgarly called *Seggioli di Napoli*, which those that are weary do enter, and they being covered round about, and only having windows on the sides, he that is carried therein cannot be seen of any, and yet himself may see all that pass. Two porters carry these chairs by two long staves, fastened thereunto, and lift them but little from the ground, and so for a moderate price carry the passengers to any part of the city. After I observed the same fashion at Genoa, which is in like sort seated upon the sides of hills and mountains, and in cities so seated, I think this fashion very convenient."

<sup>157</sup> *Sedan Chairs in England*.—The first sedan chairs were brought into England in 1621 by Prince Charles (Charles I.). Olivares, the Spanish Minister, had given him three in Madrid. Two of these were given to Buckingham, who was at once accused of degrading Englishmen into beasts of burden (Massinger, *Works*, vol. ii., p. 7). Sir Saunders Duncombe obtained two patents for sedan chairs—*Tenth year of Charles I.*: "R. primo die Octobris con Saunders Duncombe mil., the sole using and putting forth to hyre certaine covered Chaires, called Sedans for xiiii<sup>en</sup> years." *Eleventh year of Charles I.*: "R. vii. die Dec. con Saunders Duncombe mil., the sole benefitt of using or putting to hire all covered chairs or hand litters within the city of London or Westmin' & the p'cinths thereof for the term of fowertine years." That he availed himself of this patent we know from Garrard's letter to Strafford: "He hath forty or fifty making ready for use" (*Strafford's Letters*, i. 336).

<sup>158</sup> *Sir Saunders Duncombe* was the second son of William Duncombe of Bettlesden and Elizabeth Saunders of Pottesgrove, Bedfordshire (*Visit. of Beds., Harl. Soc.*, 100, 101). He

## John Evelyn in Naples

had been a traveller and became a Court pensioner. He had a "famous powder" which he administered in vain to Evelyn's mother (*Diary*, 1635, September 3). He had also a patent for the fighting of wild beasts.

<sup>159</sup> *French Dress*.—Fynes Moryson says (i. 109): "Because we were attired like Frenchmen, the prisoners scoffed at us, and, to my great marvel, the citizens of good sort did not forbear this barbarous usage towards us." The French were still unpopular apparently in 1645; but in 1647 the Duke of Guise was received into the city as its saviour. He failed, however, to establish himself, and Mazarin did not support him.

<sup>160</sup> *The Non Ultra of my Travels*.—Raymond (p. 163) says: "This mountain [Vesuvius] was the *ultima meta* of our voyage to Naples." Bargrave (*Catalogue*, p. 123): "Mount Vesuvius, near Naples . . . was four times the point of my reflection—I facing about for England from the top, or crater, or voragine (as they term it of that mountain)." "I confess freely," says Burnet (p. 174), "that the sight of Naples and Rome hath so set my stomach that way [towards home], that the curiosity of seeing new places is now very low with me."

<sup>161</sup> *Prodigious Barbarism*.—The Thirty Years' War was still raging in Germany, and this perhaps justifies Evelyn's expression. He never visited Germany.

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